

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

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USMISSION NATO

USEC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 5785

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJECT: TWO COMMUNIQUE

REF: (A) MADRID 5173; (B) MADRID 5646

SUMMARY: AN INTERPERATE PLATAJUNTA COMMUNIQUE, WHICH LABELS THE SUAREZ GOVT "REACTIONARY," HAS BEEN FOLLOWED BY A MORE MODERATE OPPOSITION STATEMENT WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN LEAKED PURPOSELY AHEAD OF TIME TO TAKE THE EDGE OFF THE PLATAJUNTA DOCUMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. THE OPPOSITION PLATAJUNAT, ON JULY 23, ISSUED A STRONGLY
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WORDED STATEMENT REITERATING ITS CALL FOR RUPTURA" AND

LABELING THE SUAREZ GOVT AS "REACTIONARY." ACCORDING TO THE COMMUNIQUE, "THE GOVT, BECAUSE OF ITS ORIGIN AND COMPOSITION, IS NOT CAPABLE OF RESPONDING TO THE URGENT NECESSITIES OF THE COUNTRY...IT ALREADY HAS REPEATEDLY VIOLATED EMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES, DISSOLVED PEACEFUL POLITICAL ASSEMBLIES, BROKEN UP PRO-AMNESTY DEMONSTRATIONS, AND ARRESTED THOSE INVOLVED IN POLITICAL AND LABOR ACTIVITIES."

2. THE PLATAJUNAT DOCUMENT HAS BEEN CRTICIZED HARSHLY IN THE MEDIA AS RUDE AND "MAXIMALIST." THE DEOMCRATIC LEFT (ID) OF RUIZ GIMENEZ, THE ONLY CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC MEMBER OF THE PLATAJUNTA, HAS ISSUED ITS OWN EXPLANATORY STATEMENT, INDICATING ITS SUPPORT FOR THE "GENERAL LINES" OF THE COMMUNIQUE, BUT SHARPLY DISSENTING FROM "SOME EXPRESSIONS AND JUDGMENTS CONTAINED THEREIN." ID SECRETARY GENERAL CORTEZO, VISIBLY DISCOMFITED BY THE PLATAJUNTA DOCUMENT, TOLD EMBOFF THAT HE HAD ATTEMPTED, IN THE MEETING WHICH PRODUCED THE COMMUNIQUE, TO EXCISE THE INTEMPERATE SEGMENTS. HOWEVER, HIS EFFORTS FAILED, DESPITE CONSIDERABLE POPULAR SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP) BACKING AND "MODEST" PSOE SUPPORT, IN THE FACE OF UNITED OPPOSITION FROM THE COALITION'S ULTRA-LEFT GROUPLETS, THE CARLISTS AND "INDEPENDENT" MEMBER GARCIA TEVIJANO. THE PCE, ACCORDING TO CORTEZO, TOOK AN INTERMEDIATE POSITION. RUIZ GIMENEZ, AT A LUNCH HOSTED BY THE AMBASSADOR JULY 22, EMPHASIZED TO MINISTER OF THE PRESIDENCY OSORIO THAT THE OPPOSITION VIEWED THE SUAREZ GOVT POSITIVELY, AND HE CRITICIZED THE PLATAJUNTA STATEMENT (REF B).

3. IN CONTRAST TO THE PLATAJUNTA'S TOUGH STATEMENT, A SECOND, RELATIVELY MODERATE COMMUNIQUE FROM THE SO-CALLED GROUP OF 32 (WHICH HAS NOW GROWN TO 46) WAS LEAKED TO THE PRESS ON JULY 25. THIS MANIFESTO, WHICH REPORTEDLY WAS DRAFTED PRINCIPALLY BY LAW PROFESSOR CARLOS OLLERO, A LIBERAL MONARCHIST, AND IS NOT YET IN FINAL FORM, REITERATES MUCH OF THE GROUP'S FIRST PUBLIC STATEMENT, WHICH WAS RELEASED ON JULY 2 (REF A) UNLIKE THE PLATAJUNTA STATEMENT, THE OLLERO DOCUMENT COMPLIMENTS THE GOVT ON ITS PROGRAMMATIC ANNOUNCEMENT AND ITS CALL FOR A DIALOGUE WITH THE OPPOSITION. IT ALSO POINTS OUT, HOWEVER, THAT "CERTAIN ACTS ARE DETRACTING FROM THE GOVT'S STATEMENT OF INTENT" (MEANING, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE ARRESTS OF SOCIALISTS) AND STATES THAT THE GOVT, BY ITSELF, CANNOT CARRY OUT EFFECTIVE

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LIBERALIZATION BECAUSE, AMONG OTHER THINGS, IT LACKS THE NECESSARY LEGITIMACY. INSTEAD, THE MANIFESTO CALLS FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVT AND OPPOSITION TOWARD THIS END.

4. THE OLLERO DOCUMENT, WHICH HAS BEEN LABELED "SIGNIFICANT" AND "MODERATE" BY THE PRESS ("ARRIBA," REFLECTING THE SUAREZ LINE, HAILED IT), REPORTEDLY HAS BEEN SIGNED BY 46 WELL-KNOWN POLITICAL FIGURES, REPRESENTING ALL MAJOR CURRENTS OF OPINION FROM LIBERAL

THROUGH COMMUNIST (PCE). SIGNERS INCLUDE GARRIGUES WALKER (LIBERAL),
ALVAREZ DE MIRANDA, GIL ROBLES AND RUIZ GIMENEZ (CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS)

,
FERNANDEZ ORDONEZ (SOCIAL DEMOCRAT), GONZALEZ AND MUGICA (PSOE),
TIERNO GALVAN (PSP), AND AZCARATE AND TAMAMES (COMMUNISTS).

5. COMMENT: IT MAY BE MORE THAN COINCIDENCE THAT AN INCOMPLETE
VERSION OF THE MODERATE OLLERO DOCUMENT WAS LEAKED TO THE PRESS
ONLY TWO DAYS AFTER THE PLATAJUNTA STATEMENT WAS MADE PUBLIC AND
EVOKED SUCH NEGATIVE PRESS REACTION. REPRESENTATION IN THE
GROUP OF 46 APPEARS TO BE A CONVENIENT MENAS FOR THE PSOE, PSP,
AND ID TO REASSURE THE GOVT AND NON-PLATAJUNTA OPPOSITION GROUPS
WHILE KEEING ONE FOOT IN THE LEFTIST CAMP VIA THE PLATAJUNTA.

6. THIS IS A PARTICULAR PROBLEM FOR THE PSOE, AS IT ATTEMPTS TO
BRACKET THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND MARXIST LEFT. THE CONSPICUOUS
PRESENCE OF ENRIQUE MUGICA'S SIGNAUTRE ON BOTH THE PALAJUNTA
AND OLLERO DOCUMENTS DEMONSTRATES THE DUALITY OF CURRENT PSOE
TACTICS: PROTECTION OF ITS LEFT FLANK THROUGH ADHERENCE TO THE
PLATAJUNTA WHILE DEMONSTRATING CONFIDENCE IN--AND ENCOURAGING--
THE GOVT'S REFORMIST INTENTIONS THROUGH THE MAINTENANCE OF A
DIALOGUE VIA NON-PLATAJUNTA CHANNELS. THE FAILURE OF MUGICA TO
MAKE A STRONG ATTEMPT TO TONE DOWN THE PLATAJUNTA STATEMENT
WAS CERTAINLY, IN PART, THE PSOE'S RESPONSE TO A BRIEF FLURRY
OF ARRESTS LAST WEEK OF PSOE MILITANTS AND THE WOUNDING BY
POLICE OF A SIGN-PAINTING SOCIALIST UGT MEMBER IN ASTURIAS.

7. WHETHER THIS EPISODE WILL PROVE DIVISIVE WITHIN THE PLATA-
JUNTA REMAINS TO BE SEEN. THE SOCIALISTS AND CHRISTIAN
DEMOCRATS ARE COMMITTED TO THE CONTINUATION OF THE ALREADY
INITIATED GOVT-OPPOSITION DIALOGUE, AND ARE HIGHLY UNLIKELY
TO JEOPARDIZE IT SO LONG AS THE GOVT MAINTAINS ITS CREDIBILITY.
CONSEQUENTLY, THEY ARE CERTAIN TO BE FINDING THEIR POLTICIAL
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COHABITATION WITH THE ULTRA-LEFTISTS AND PLATAJUNTA
"INDEPENDENTS," WHO HAVE NO REAL STAKE IN SUCH A DIALOGUE, TO
BE INCREASINGLY FRUSTRATING. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THEY
ALSO SEE POLITICAL ADVANTAGES IN PLATAJUNTA MEMBERSHIP, AND ARE
LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO DO SO UNTIL FREE ELECTIONS ARE CALLED.
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